



A Note on the Names Armânum and Urartu

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either way the formal cause, because it is in him that there subsists the idea of the thing to be made or done, in an imitable form, whether as "art in the artist" or as "prudence in the doer," respectively the *recta ratio factibilium* and *recta ratio agibilium*.

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A Note on the names Armânum and Urartu

SINCE THE early stages in the decipherment of cuneiform it has been known that the sign denoting Akkad (*uri*) was also the sign used by the Assyrians of the 1st millennium B. C. to denote the kingdom of Urartu (*tilla*).¹ In *CT* 11, 15, 2, 5 the sign, in the sense of Akkad, is read *uri* and in *CT* 11, 15, 2, 7, in the sense of Urartu, it is read *tilla* (see Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* 359).² This strange double rendering has remained a puzzle, toward a solution of which many scholars have made contributions.

Now the northern campaigns of Narâm-Sin in the first half of the 3rd millennium B. C. have been the subject of much speculation. This great king has become, in a sense, the "mystery king." Very soon after his death he had become a figure of legend; cf. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 94 ff. and Gelb, *Oriental Institute Publications* XXVII (1935), pp. 5-6. We know that Narâm-Sin was called the conqueror of the lands of Armânum and Ibla (for references conveniently listed see Gelb, loc. cit.). Ibla, it is now generally accepted, lay somewhere in Syria, north of Iarmuti.³ On the location of Armânum opinion has been varied. Sidney Smith,

¹ This later usage is particularly noticeable in the Assyrian letters; cf. Streck, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 14 (1899), p. 104. Whether any significance can be attached to this fact it is, at present, impossible to say.

² Cf., for further references and comments, my dissertation: "The Kingdom of Van (Urartu): Its Origins in Relation to the Hurrian Problem" (Harvard, 1936; unpublished), p. 196 *et passim*. I wish to acknowledge here my great indebtedness for help with special phases of this paper to Professors R. H. Pfeiffer and E. A. Speiser, who of course are not responsible for whatever errors it may contain.

³ See, e. g. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas I* (1930), p. 7 ff. and Unger, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 10 (1934), p. 231.

Ur: Royal Inscriptions—Text (= URI), pp. 80-81, followed by Gelb, loc. cit., identified it with Assyrian Ḫalman or Ḫalpi (Aleppo), whereas Albright, JEA 7 (1921). 80, n. 1, among others, was inclined to equate it with the later Armenia. This latter opinion I think is correct now that the exact place of origin of the famous Diarbekr Stele of Narâm-Sin is known. For the lower, hitherto missing, portion of the stele has been found, so that we know the spot on which Narâm-Sin erected it. This Diarbekr Stele was erected at Pir Hüseyin, a few miles N. E. of Diarbekr, on the Ambar Chai.⁴ Dr. Naab, with long study and residence at Pir Hüseyin, also reports the existence of numerous tells in the immediate neighbourhood from a surface examination of which it would seem that the site was one of considerable importance. This fact strongly suggests that here may have been the Akkadian "colony" predicted by King, loc. cit. Cf. H. C. Rawlinson, *Herodotus* (1893) IV, p. 207 ff.

Furthermore, it would seem that the region around Pir Hüseyin might be the Armânum of URI 275 cols. I, lines 7, 13; II, line 4; III, lines 4, 24(?) and 30.⁵ For the order of the geographical territories listed as conquered by Narâm-Sin would seem to show that he progressed from east to west, thus making Armânum lie east of Ibla, whose location is reasonably certain. It is interesting to note in this connection that this region is also, roughly speaking, where the unknown writer of the geographical commentary on the campaigns of Sargon of Akkad placed Armânum (*KAVI* No. 92, obv. l. 13), making it lie next to Lullubu and Akkad. At least from the context this would seem to be so. Cf. Albright, *JAOS* 45 (1925). 193 ff., esp. 212 ff., but see Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 88 ff.⁶

⁴ See now J. P. Naab und E. Unger, "Die Entdeckung der Stele des Naram-Sin in Pir Hüseyin (mit 10 Abb.);" *Istanbul Asiatika Nesriyati* XII. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 244 ff., had personally inspected the site from which the stele had been brought and was keenly aware of its significance, but final proof was lacking until the find of Dr. Naab.

⁵ These texts are not the original, though an early Babylonian copy, circa 2200 B. C., cf. Unger, loc. cit. Thus the spellings of the names may have varied somewhat, permitting the suggestive equation of Unger, loc. cit.: Ursu — Ulisu, but cf. Smith, URI p. 80.

⁶ Smith, however, in URI p. 81, doubted the validity of this late text for drawing conclusions for such an early period. It is known, from *KBo* III 13 = *2BoTU* i No. 3, obv. col. I l. 13, that a Ma-da-ki-na was king of

More than 1500 years later, for precisely this same Diarbekr region, the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I reported the Uruaṭri-lands. Here the word is written out *mātû-ru-aṭ-ri* (var. *û-raṭ-ri*) ; see *AOB* I p. 112 ff. Later the old sign for Akkad, as stated above, is often used by the Assyrians for this Urartu land. This remarkable consistency in terminology (Akkadian *Armânum* and Assyrian *Uruaṭu*) is odd. Stranger still that for this same region, roughly speaking, the Behistûn Inscriptions of Darius I should equate Uraštu (= Uruaṭu) with a form Armina (Arminiya), from which, through Herodotus, the modern term Armenia directly originates.⁷ Is this form Armenia another example of an ancient land-name, long out of use, brought to life again? If the correlations above are not accidental and if my suggestion that *Armânum* seems to have been in the Pir Hüseyn region is correct (nothing can be adduced either to prove it or disprove it in the present state of our knowledge), then a possible origin of the term Armenia, for which no satisfactory etymology has been offered (cf. Streck, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 436), may herein be found. Final proof can only be found from archaeological excavation in the Pir Hüseyn tells. It would seem to be one of the most promising sites for an archaeological expedition.

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Armânum instead of the Rid-Adad mentioned in URI 275; cf. Hrozný, "Naram-Sin et ses ennemis d'après un texte Hittite" *AOr* I (1929), pp. 65-76. But this apparent confusion of names does not, in my opinion, negate the geographical validity of the texts in question. Cf. Goetze, *Kleinasien* in "Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients," *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* III 1, 3 (1933) p. 61 ff. and the literature there cited.

⁷ See *British Museum: The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistûn* (1907), p. 1 for references. Another inscription of Naram-Sin, published by Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 8 (1911). 199-200, states that he "fought against Ḫaršamatki, lord of Aram and Am." Whether this form *Aram* may be somehow equated with *Armânum* (so, for example, Gelb, loc. cit.) and whether it can be correlated with such a name as the first king of Urartu, reported in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (see Luckenbill, *Ancient Records* I, 560 et passim) or the Aram of Armenian mythology, are suggestive problems with which I am not now prepared to deal.